

CLERICAL FASCISM IN AUSTRIA

By J. J. MURPHY

HITLER, the obscure peasant who rose to power in Catholic Bavaria, sprang from a country where Clerical Fascism and anti-Semitism had been rampant for centuries. He was born of a Roman Catholic family in Austria. Even his National Socialism originated there. G. E. Gedye, speaking of Nazism, says: "Its historical roots were Austrian, for it was a development of the *Reichsverein of the German Workers of Austria*, founded in 1913."¹

The way for Hitler to seize his Austrian homeland and start the realization of a new Holy Roman Empire had been opened by Pope Pius XI in his encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, in 1931. According to the dictates of this political blueprint, a Fascist state was soon after established in Austria. The later change-over from Fascism to Nazism was easy and natural, since the Clericals had always stressed the blood-ties of Germans and Austrians and had beaten down the last defenses of Austrian democracy. Catholic William Teeling reveals the true state of affairs when he says of Catholics in Germany and Austria:

"In short, there seemed to be for the ordinary Catholic man and woman an immense amount of similarity between the ordinary everyday plan preached by the Nazis, and the sort of authoritarian state advocated by Pope Pius XI in '*Quadragesimo Anno*.'"²

Catholic support of Hitler in Germany is well known. Similar Catholic

enthusiasm for Hitler was evident in Austria five years before he took possession. What objections there were in Austria against Nazism were not against its principles and ideals but against its determination to abolish Austrian sovereignty. A Catholic author, J. D. Gregory, admits this:

"Large sections of the non-Socialist Austrian population had watched Hitler's 1933 coup with admiration, and demanded similar strong action against their own Socialists, Communists and Jews by Dollfuss, and, if not by Dollfuss, then by Hitler."³

Our purpose in this article, however, is not to discuss in general the relationship of Nazi-fascism to the Roman Catholic church but to show the political atmosphere that gave birth to Hitler, and the Clerical regimentation of Austria that cleared the way for Hitler's first step in rebuilding the Holy Roman Empire. Even the Catholic church makes no secret of the fact that revival of this church-state empire was Hitler's purpose. Jesuit Father Edmund J. Walsh of the *Foreign Service School* in Washington, D. C., said that "he heard Adolf Hitler say that the Holy Roman Empire, which was a Germanic Empire, must be re-established." (*N. Y. Times*, February 17, 1940.) The seat of this empire had always been Vienna.

ROME-HAPSBURG AXIS

Emperor Francis Joseph, who ruled Austria-Hungary for two generations previous to the first World War, was

¹ *Betrayal in Central Europe*, by G. E. Gedye (1939) page 69. All references to this author are found in this book, unless otherwise noted.

² *Crisis for Christianity* by William Teeling, p. 290. Further references to Teeling in this article will be found in this book.

³ *Dollfuss and His Times* by J. D. Gregory, page 199. Any later page references to this author pertain to this book.

the most absolute monarch of a long line of Hapsburgs. His seizure and domination of conquered peoples and his fanatical Catholicism combined to win him the name of "Apostolic Usurper." He planned with Vatican connivance to revive the Holy Roman Empire that had been ruled for centuries from Vienna. Carlile A. Macartney of Cambridge University in his scholarly work *The Social Revolution in Austria* says of him:

"Deeply influenced in his youth by his Catholic mother, a bigoted Bavarian, and by his tutor, later Archbishop of Vienna, Franz Josef was at once genuinely pious, and keenly alive to the political value of the help which Catholicism could give him . . . He still dreamed, it seems, of reviving the world empire of Charlemagne. With Catholic support the dream seemed not impossible."⁴

The Roman Catholic church has never let the idea of the Holy Roman Empire die out. To this day, though there are usually three cardinals and several archbishops in Germany, the Primate of the Catholic church in Germany is the Archbishop of Salzburg, Austria, just as in the days of the Holy Roman Empire.

For centuries the Hapsburgs carried on their tyranny with the help of the Catholic church which allowed the acquisitive Hapsburgs to rob Poles, Croats, Slavs and many Italians of their liberty and nationality. The well-known anti-Fascist Count Sforza in the N. Y. Times of January 1, 1943, quoted from a Catholic catechism of the Franz Josef era:

Question: How ought subjects to conduct themselves toward their sovereigns?

Answer: Subjects ought to conduct themselves toward their sovereigns like faithful slaves toward their master."

⁴ *The Social Revolution in Austria*, by Carlile A. Macartney (1928), page 10. Further references to this same work will be made in the pages immediately following.

Cruel as the church-Hapsburg rule was to subject nations, it was not much better to the full-blooded German-Austrians and Hungarians. The Catholic church's policy has always been incurably reactionary. Macartney (p. 179) characterizes the church in Austria as follows: "She fought consistently against the introduction of lay education, against the lengthening of the school year, even against modern ways of agriculture, and has made herself in no small degree responsible for the backwardness and much of the poverty of her adherents."

Moral conditions in a country oppressed by a wealthy, corrupt church, steeped in politics, were of course extremely low. Drunkenness was one of the people's principal vices. On this point Macartney (p. 180) speaking from first-hand observations says of the Austrian peasant:

"His vices spring to a large extent from the besetting sin of drunkenness, a great evil in Austria, which the Church as a whole has done scandalously little to combat, and has often even fostered in her character of large proprietor of vineyards, breweries and distilleries . . . The percentage of illegitimacy among the children is startling; in Carinthia . . . something like 40 per cent."

As in other countries dominated by Roman Catholicism, the lot of the Jew was pitiful. It was not till after the libertarian revolt of 1848 that they were granted even legal equality. Macartney (p. 224) speaking of the Catholic church and the Jews in Austria says:

"For her they were a nation apart, an accursed people, the deniers and murderers of the Saviour . . . The Church never relented towards them . . . The curses of the Church volleyed down the ages against the 'devil's brood.'"

When the polyglot Hapsburg empire collapsed in 1918, the Catholic church carried on its reactionary traditions.

This succession of ideas is well expressed by Macartney (p. 54), when he says: "The Catholic Church of Austria . . . is the living representative of the old order. She was the chief stay of the Monarchy, but more powerful even than that, for she has outlived it. She is the upholder of conservatism . . . the supporter of country against city, and Gentile against Jew . . . The Catholic Church was and is an active political force; she does not confine herself to stating her ideals, but compels acceptance by her flock with terrible threats of hell-fire."

During Franz Josef's reign, in 1882, the *Christian Social Party* was formed by Catholic Karl Lueger, who was backed by Cardinal Rompolia of the Roman Curia. Lueger was for many years mayor of Vienna. The anti-Semitism of Lueger, whom Hitler knew and admired (See *Mein Kampf*, p. 128), is implied in the word 'Christian' used in the Jesuit sense of 'non-Jewish.' This political organization became the instrument of Clericalism right up to and through the days of Austrian Fascism under Dollfuss and Schuschnigg. Macartney (p. 233) says of it, "Thanks to Lueger's personality, almost the strongest party in Austria was one based on anti-Semitism, and essentially reactionary . . . He was strongly supported by the Church."

MONSIGNOR SEIPEL

After the first World War and the dissolution of the Hapsburg empire, impoverished, war-stricken Austria was in a pitiful condition. Austria and Hungary were separated. The setting up of new countries from the subject peoples of the former empire reduced the polyglot country of 53,000,000 inhabitants to a mere fraction of its former territory with only 6,000,000 people, almost half of whom were crowded into Vienna.

Austria was left like a head without a body. Undernourishment and unemployment were everywhere in evidence.

In these pitiful circumstances the *Social Democratic Party*, founded in 1899, took over the government. This Socialist party, even when it was later out of power, controlled a minimum of 42 per cent of the country's votes. It was at all times the largest political party of post-war Austria.

Naturally, Communists tried to take over power in those chaotic times. But, as Macartney (p. 132) observes, "Slowly the Communists came to realize that it was useless to hope to win over the *Social Democrats* for revolution . . . The split between Communism and Social Democracy had become a definite and irretrievable fact." The Socialist leader, Dr. Otto Bauer, stood firm against the Communists to the very end, in spite of the plots and treacherous maneuvers of the Clericals.

In the trying circumstances of post-war Austria, the Catholic church was less interested in helping the starving masses than in embarrassing the Socialist government and forcing it out of office. To this end it turned the peasants against the Vienna workmen to starve them into submission, or at least out of power.

" . . . sermons told the peasant that his corn, his cattle, and his wood were requisitioned for the purpose of allowing a hundred thousand workless men in Vienna to be kept in idleness by the State; that the central system of control which 'oppressed' the peasant was maintained by an alliance of Jewish profiteers . . . that the revolution aimed at socializing his property and destroying his church. The peasant proceeded to adopt a defiant attitude. He placed obstacles in the way of delivering supplies."⁵

⁵ *Austrian Revolution* by Dr. Otto Bauer, Foreign Secretary in the First Republican Government of Austria, page 88. Cf. *Heirs to the Hapsburgs*, by G. E. Gedye, page. 61.

As soon as the Communist danger was fought off by the Socialists, the reactionary parties under the leadership of the Clericals formed a coalition that just managed to defeat the Socialists. They took over the national government, though the Socialists continued until their later suppression to control the municipal government of Vienna.

Later, in 1922, when the immediate post-war crisis had subsided, the leader of the Clerical party, Msgr. Seipel, a



MSGR. IGNAZ SEIPEL

"The Merciless Cardinal,"—noted for "his talent for intrigue and single-minded devotion to advancing the political interests of the Church."

Roman Catholic priest and Papal Pro-nocary, had himself elected to office. He had previously occupied a government position in one of the last Monarchy

cabinets. Seipel was not a cardinal, though commonly referred to in Vienna as "The Merciless Cardinal." Nor was he a Jesuit, even though he lived up to the most wily traditions of that order.

Msgr. Seipel was a long-range planner of counter-Revolution. He envisioned a re-established Holy Roman Empire centered in Vienna that would comprise Austria, Hungary, Bavaria, Württemberg, Croatia, Slovakia and Transylvania. To this formidable bloc of nations, Poland and the Latin-Catholic nations might easily be affiliated. In his plan, what would be left of non-Catholic Prussia, Bohemia, Rumania and Yugoslavia after their Catholic territories were stripped away would be of little importance. This planned-on empire is what Teeling (p. 143) discreetly hinted at, when he said of Seipel, "His ideal was an Austria that would be a link between the German States and the Danubian States." Of course, this plan was subject to the demands of later events and could easily be stretched to include Prussia and other non-Catholic territories.

The blueprint of the Catholic counter-Revolution that aims to destroy the liberal ideals and governments ushered in by the American and French revolutions was Pope Pius XI's encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*. Catholic author J. D. Gregory gives credit to Seipel for that model plan of the Catholic-Fascist State, known in Catholic circles as the "Corporate State." His fellow-Catholic Teeling, who is particularly well-acquainted with Vatican officials, confirms this, when he says:

"Monsignor Seipel was very largely responsible for the papal encyclical, 'Quadragesimo Anno' . . . and for the Constitution on similar lines for Austria, which was so little different from the totalitarianism of Nazi Germany that in the end the two had to merge. Seipel was the leader of Political Catholicism . . ."

Seipel has been called "Old Mole Seipel." And rightly so, for he worked slowly and industriously, but always underground. Until 1929, with one brief interval, he kept control of Austria in his hands, and burrowed ceaselessly. Gedye (p. 4) speaks of it this way:

"Monsignor Ignaz Seipel held few cards, but they were good ones, astutely played. There were tricks to be won for his country, and beyond that—never to be talked of—a chance of scoring below the line for his Church . . . They whispered of the possibility of another comeback (also, of course, years ahead), a come-back of caste and privilege . . . The first thing was to get foreign money into the country, and then second to persuade international finance that its money would never be safe until the power of the Left had been broken, 'Red' Vienna swept into oblivion . . . Seipel's successors carried his anti-Socialist policy to triumph in 1934, thereby destroying democratic Austria and leaving the way clear for the walkover of the Fascist invaders of 1938."

Seipel knew he could not reach and attain power if he revealed his true aims. He accordingly used 'false front' tactics, such as the Catholic church in America is using today. Looking back in retrospect to thirteen years previous, Gedye (p. 492) could not help remarking: "How softly trod Msgr. Seipel when first I went to Austria in 1925—how persuasive his slogans. 'True' democracy was what he wanted—the 'freedom of the streets'—disarmament of 'party armies.' "

Behind these honeyed phrases, Seipel planned an illegal anti-democratic army, to which he would gradually give the protection of the State police and the regular army, as well as favorable decisions in the courts. This, too, is confirmed by Gedye (p. 19):

"In 1927 Seipel got the *Landbund* into his reactionary coalition; they, too, mostly became Nazis later on. This was the obvious side of his anti-democratic activities. The discreetly hidden side was the steady but always officially denied efforts to build up an illegal party army to overthrow the power of the Socialists in Vienna, where no constitutional means could shake their firm two-thirds majority of votes."

Ignatius Seipel was born in Vienna in 1876, the son of a theatre doorman. He was a doctor of theology who knew nothing of economics but had an extremely shrewd sense for political intrigues. He was intelligent and fearless. He was extremely ascetic in his personal life, sometimes to the point of displaying a holier-than-thou attitude. He made a point of never smiling. In appearance he was spare, entirely bald, aquiline-nosed, thin-lipped, with cold, sharp eyes. Gedye lists among his striking characteristics, "his overweening political ambitions, his rigid personal asceticism, his genius for cold-blooded, relentless hostility towards a weakened enemy, his sure touch for the right propaganda for the right person, his talent for intrigue and single-minded devotion to advancing the political interests of the Church."

Seipel sold out Austria to international capitalism, shortly after he took office. Gedye (p. 19) says: "From the date of the first League Loan and the Geneva Protocols of 1923, the interests of international finance had been harnessed behind the idea of an Austria in which full freedom to exploit the masses . . . should be restored to foreign and native capital." Even Catholic Teeling (p. 264) bears witness to this: "Catholics found themselves in the very dangerous position of having to oppose the working classes and of going hand-in-glove with capitalism. Msgr. Seipel was a bad offender in this sense . . ."

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The long-standing domination of the Austrian masses by Roman Catholicism was threatened for the first time by Socialism, organized in Austria under the name of the *Social Democrats*. As Macartney (p. 179) says: "The absence of competition is the treasured advantage of the church. Only Socialism seriously challenges its supremacy, and is therefore anathema to it. The mentality of the peasant of the old style is peculiarly acceptable to the Church. Submissiveness to authority, contentment with one's lot . . ."

The Roman Catholic church thinks of Socialism as the blood-brother of Communism. Pope Pius XI echoed the voice of his predecessors when he condemned Socialism. The real but soft-pedaled church teaching against Socialism is decidedly anti-Semitic and smacks of the spurious *Protocols of Zion*. It is found, for instance, in the words approvingly quoted by Catholic J. D. Gregory (p. 342):

"Socialism is the old form of Hebrew millenarianism, of the hope of Israel . . . It was not mere chance that Karl Marx was a Jew. He believed that a Messiah would come, but one that would be the reverse of Jesus, whom the Hebrew people had rejected."

Against the unconcealed hatred of Clerical leaders and their determination to kill Austrian Socialism, the workers of Austria and particularly of Vienna were forced from the beginning to form an army of self-defense. It was called the *Volkswehr*. But even under provocation they never took the offensive. When the Clericals attacked their 'model workers' homes,' in February 1934, they fought back bravely against overpowering forces but steadfastly refused to cause chaos by interfering with the normal functioning of the electric and communication facilities of Vienna. Of the years preceding this fatal battle,

it has been rightly stated that, "Again and again . . . the Socialists offered both to Seipel and his successor Dollfuss to disarm and disband the Republican Defense Corps, if the government would see that the Fascists did the same."⁶

A Clerical reactionary put on record his opinion of Vienna workers: "One day we are going to stop that business in Vienna by fair means or foul. Parquet floors and shower-baths for workers, indeed—you might as well put Persian carpets in a pigsty . . ."

G. E. Gedye, who is a non-Socialist and distinctly anti-Communist, had nothing but praise for the ideals and self-discipline of the thoroughly organized Socialist workers of Vienna. Speaking of his residence in Vienna as foreign correspondent for the London *Times* and the New York *Times*, he says (p. 22): "During my twelve years' residence I came to know the workers of Vienna as orderly, class-conscious, peaceable wage-earners, with a sense of democracy ineradicably rooted in their hearts . . . They are extremely slow to anger, patient and hard-working."

There are even Catholic authors that admit the moderation of the Socialists and their fruitless attempts to cooperate with the Clerical government without sacrificing the basic principles of democracy. But at all times they were treated with contempt, and, when under arrest, were abused, while Nazi agents and terrorists received special consideration. The Clericals from the beginning had their own plans for dealing with the democratic workers of Vienna. As Gedye records (pp. 37, 67):

"Msgr. Seipel and after him the pious Engelbert Dollfuss had conferred their blessing on preparations for shedding the blood of the masses and taking such power as they had out of

⁶ G. E. Gedye, *op. cit.*, page 36.

their hands." "So at Riccione, Italy, in 1933, Dollfuss promised Mussolini that the Heimwehr-Fascist program for the destruction of the Socialists should be pushed at top speed."

ILLEGAL CLERICAL ARMY

Msgr. Seipel gradually succeeded in his plans for an unconstitutional private army which could be used to do the Socialist party to death. Various Clerical groups of armed forces were gradually merged with the *Heimwehr* (Home Army) financed and formally headed by the anti-Semitic Prince von Staremburg.

Staremburg was a Vienna playboy, who spent much of his time carousing at the fashionable Kobenzl Bar and other Vienna night-clubs. At other times he would flit to the Italian Lido or to St. Moritz. Frequently, however, a fit of exhibitionism led him back to take over the actual leadership of his private army of reactionaries and peasants. He is on record as calling the Austrian Republic a "monstrosity" and its parliament "a cackle-booth." None the

less, Msgr. Seipel found that he could make good use of the Prince and his army. He gave them both support, and a build-up besides. According to J. D. Gregory (p. 158), he called Staremburg, "an extremely serious young man . . . a great hope for Austria." He also said publicly that "there was nothing falser than to attribute anti-democratic policy to the *Heimwehr*."

Austrian Clericals, formed through various coalitions, were united in their anti-Semitism and their hatred of Socialism, which they termed the 'Red Antichrist.' In their attitude, however, toward Pan-Germanism, Nazism and more particularly by their concern for personal profit, they were bitterly divided. Internal quarrels, rivalries and jealousies were the cause of countless plots and intrigues within their joint organization.

What has just been said of Clericalism in general is even more true of the *Heimwehr*. Till 1930 Staremburg, who took part in Hitler's famous Munich *putsch*, favored the Nazi wing of the



Left to right: DR. SCHUSCHNIGG, PRINCE STAREMBURG AND CARDINAL INNITZER SMILE THEIR APPROVAL OF DOLFUSS.

Heimwehr. As late as November 1931, he pledged himself and his army to Anschluss with Germany, but Hitler did not trust him and broke off his alliance for a couple of years with the *Heimwehr* of Southern Austria. From then on Staremburg personally turned more and more against Hitler and looked to Mussolini for foreign support.

Prince Staremburg was separated from his wife. In spite of uncounted love affairs he eventually decided to marry Nora Gregor, a well-known Viennese actress. The Vatican refused to divorce him, in spite of his money and position, because it was politically inopportune. Later, in 1937, when he had served his purpose in carrying out Seipel's original master-plan, and had become a nuisance and threat to Schuschnigg's government, the Vatican agreed to give him the divorce, provided he would give up the vice-Chancellorship of Austria. Staremburg consented and was dropped suddenly from the cabinet without making even a noticeable protest. A few months later he married his long-intended bride, after receiving from Rome the desired divorce (*divor-tium*), or 'annulment,' as the Catholic propagandists prefer to call it in English. A few years later a similarly delayed dispensation for marriage was granted to Kurt Schuschnigg, after he was removed from office, to marry by proxy the divorced Countess Vera Czernin, whose husband was still living.

DOLFFUSS, FIRST AUSTRIAN DICTATOR

Heir to the Fascist ideals and policy of Msgr. Seipel was four-foot-eleven Engelbert Dollfuss, who came to be known as "Little Metternich." When Seipel on his deathbed heard of Dollfuss' election, he said, "Now I can die in peace."

Dollfuss was the illegitimate son of an Austrian peasant woman, from

whom he took his family name. The Bishop of St. Pölten interested himself in young Dollfuss and sent him to school at Hollabrunn minor seminary. There Dollfuss persevered for several years in spite of failing in his studies at the beginning of his course. His background is best summarized by J. D. Gregory, when he says: "He had been brought up in an atmosphere of prayer and pilgrimages." Dollfuss started to study for the priesthood and continued long enough to don the soutane. He then decided that he could serve the church better as a layman. Whatever positions he held later in life were secured for him by Clerical influence.

Gedye refers to Dollfuss as "impetuous and half-educated." This simplicity is confirmed by his admiring biographer J. D. Gregory. When referring to Dollfuss, he speaks of "the penny Catholic catechism on which he had been brought up and which to the end was the foundation of his simple creed."

Like Seipel who preceded him and Schuschnigg who followed him, Dollfuss was at heart a monarchist, who dreamt of the restoration of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. For this reason he believed like them, in Pan-Germanism, a union of all Germanic nations. Much as he favored church-inspired Italian Fascism to the State-worshipping Nazi brand, and much as he insisted on national sovereignty for Austria, he never turned his face from union with Germany, even from union with Nazi Germany. Even in the face of Nazi arrogance and unreasonable demands, Dollfuss said: "We are always conscious that we are Germans. If our big brother [Nazi Germany] across the way does not and will not understand us, all I can say to him is this. . . . 'We have always insisted that we were able to play the game with you.'" Many of the leaders of the

Heimwehr, that Dollfuss supported, were forever negotiating with Nazi spokesman. Neither Dollfuss nor Schuschnigg took harsh and resolute means to suppress Nazi terrorism. Gedye (p. 89) says of Dollfuss: "The genuineness of Dollfuss' own fight for Austrian independence was in doubt, for he had authorized the notorious Nazi Habicht to come from Berlin to negotiate with him . . ." Hitler and Dollfuss embraced the same anti-democratic principles and aimed at similar Fascist objectives. *It was only Hitler's contemptuous attitude toward little Austria that made impossible a friendly deal and led to growing estrangement.*

Just as in Germany the Catholic Center Party had been dissolved by the Vatican after Hitler came into power, so too in Austria after Dollfuss took over, the church forbade further political activity of the clergy. The Vatican always prefers to deal with authoritarian governments, and to deal with them directly.

Dollfuss looked to Mussolini as a fellow Catholic who would be interested in setting up by counter-Revolution a church-Fascist partnership in Austria, as he had done in Italy. J. D. Gregory, Catholic biographer of Dollfuss, speaking of these fellow dictators, said (p. 217): "They were striving for the same goal, spiritual no less than terrestrial." Elsewhere he says (p. 244), "Above all Dollfuss knew that there was one nation on whom he could rely, one friend who would never let him down."

Dollfuss took office in 1932 by virtue of an understanding with the illegal *Heimwehr*. In his war on democratic government he came later on to rely on this private army more and more. In his suppression of democracy he first began by restricting freedom of assembly. Then by one step after another he

abolished freedom of the press, parliament, and political parties. Finally, through a new constitution, he established a Fascist state. All this was done, of course, in direct violation of his oath of loyalty to the Austrian Republic. It is one more case of Clerical casuistry, where "the end justifies the means."

As would be expected under a Clerical government, freedom of religion scarcely existed. The *Associated Press* of November 15, 1938, mentioned that the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg government had "subjected all who filed petitions to leave the Catholic Church to a mental examination."

THE NEW FASCIST CONSTITUTION

Speaking before the Assembly of the League of Nations on September 27, 1932, Dollfuss said: "Austria is working out a new constitution. In this she will be guided by the principles laid down by Pope Pius XI . . ."

The 'corporate authoritarian constitution' of the Austrian dictatorship cannot be understood except in terms of Pope Pius XI's encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* and the Fascist constitution of Italy which was the original embodiment of the Pope's ideas.

The relationship of *Quadragesimo Anno* and Mussolini's dictatorship can scarcely be better expressed than in the words of a Catholic author familiar with both of them. He says:

"No government had seriously dreamed of proceeding to a complete adoption of the new ideas of the Corporate State, until Mussolini laid the foundations of the first Corporate State; the *Quadragesimo Anno* in 1931 proclaimed it as a world ideal . . . There is a substantial identity between the principles laid down in the encyclical and the principles incorporated in the Italian constitution."

⁷ J. D. Gregory, *op. cit.*, page 324.

Pope Pius XI in a *Papal Allocution* of May 30, 1931, said:

"It was easy for everybody to recognize in the encyclical 'Quadragesimo Anno' a benevolent allusion to the Italian [Fascist] syndical and corporate laws."

The purpose of *Quadragesimo Anno*, the blueprint of the ideal Clerical state, was to overthrow the democratic principle of government first introduced by the French and American revolutions. Essential to all democracies is the existence of political parties and elections by majority vote. *Quadragesimo Anno* eliminated all political parties. In addition it declares for a fossilized class system, a sort of caste such as existed in medieval times. Its new name for it is "graded, hierarchical order."

Kurt Schuschnigg drafted the Austrian constitution on the lines of *Quadragesimo Anno*. Speaking of this constitution he says: "It deliberately turns its back on formal democratic principles, and on universal, equal and direct suffrage. It lays weight on independent and strong leadership; hence the providing of emergency powers and the right to alter laws by decree."

The Austrian Constitution recognized the juridical position of the Catholic church and its institutions as defined by *Canon Law*—thus giving it priority over any other religious body. It placed education on a Catholic basis, making religious instruction compulsory in schools. Malcolm Bullock in his book *A Study in Failure* (p. 281) quotes an official complaint of the Evangelical Church of Austria that, in the new State constitution, 'Christianity' is made to stand for Roman Catholicism, "as if the Protestant Church did not exist or deserve consideration."

A Concordat between Austria and the Vatican was proclaimed on the

same day as the Constitution, on May 1, 1934. It is worth noting that both were so drawn up that they could be taken over without change by the monarchy when it would be restored to power.

DOLFFUSS' SUCCESSOR

Major Fey, cabinet member of the Clerical government of Austria and head of the police, is suspected of complicity in the murder of Dollfuss.⁸ The actual assassin, however, was Otto Plantetta, a former Austrian soldier who had joined the Nazis. Before his death Dollfuss named Kurt von Schuschnigg as his successor.

Schuschnigg, son of an Austrian army officer, was born into a Pan-German, pro-Hapsburg family. He studied under the Jesuits at Stella Matutina College in Voralberg. His character was visibly shaped by the Jesuits who always give particular attention to those who bid fair to be of future use to the church. There he learned to manipulate and use others for his own purpose so unobtrusively that they didn't even realize it. He learned to look upon life as a political game, where each move needed to be quietly thought through, examined from every angle, and planned to the last detail against possible failure—all without letting an inkling leak out so that he would be free to strike at the chosen moment.

No hope for democracy could be expected from Schuschnigg. In his opening speech he said: "We consider it unthinkable that parliamentary democracy should be restored in Austria." Even had Schuschnigg wanted to help free the people he would have found it impossible. As Gedyé said (p. 137):

"He was tied by the *Heimurhr*. He was tied by Mussolini, who had just saved him from Hitler and whose condition

⁸ G.E. Gedyé, *op. cit.*, page 119.



LITTLE DOLLFUSS, WITH CARDINAL INNITZER ON THE RIGHT, WITNESSING THE PROCLAMATION OF THE NEW CLERICAL-FASCIST CONSTITUTION IN 1934.

for continued support was 'no more democracy in Austria' . . . Above all, he was tied by his own past—by his underlying Germanophilia, his Jesuit upbringing, his admiration of Seipel and personal affection for the murdered Dollfuss."

Lawyer Schuschnigg, like Dollfuss, had received all his jobs through Clerical connections. In 1928 Seipel appointed him to make reports on legal and financial matters of government. In a few years he was Minister of Justice and Minister of Education simultaneously. In the first capacity he had figured prominently in confiscating the property of the *Social Democrats*, in shackling the press and in drafting the Clerico-Fascist Constitution. Of his activities as Minister of Education, Gedye (p. 141) says:

"With energy he flung himself into the task of eradicating liberalism, socialism and free thought from the schools and placing the moulding of the mind of youth in the hands of the priest. Theatre, film and litera-

ture were harnessed to the chariot of the Catholic Church."

Schuschnigg's regime was rocked by the Phoenix Insurance scandal in which his friends and those of Staremburg figured so prominently that it was hushed up. Previous to this under the Clerical government there had been the arms scandal involving multi-millionaire Fritz Mandl and Mussolini. The crash of the internationally known Credit-Anstalt bank was traced to the lavish expenditures of the Clerical government in building up the *Heimwehr*.

Schuschnigg exceeded Dollfuss in his Pan-Germanism. Not long after taking over the leadership of Austria, he discussed appeasement at length with Anton Rheintaler, a close friend of Rudolph Hess, until news of it leaked out and he was forced to discontinue. In July 1936 he signed for Hitler 'Austria's death-warrant.' In his apology for it over the radio in an address to the people, he justified it with the quotation, "The brother seeks

his brother." Of Schuschnigg's leaning toward Germany, Catholic William Teeling (p. 277) says:

"He was much more German-minded than Dollfuss, owing perhaps to his education at the Jesuit college . . . He failed to continue the cry of 'Austria for the Austrians' . . . He always stressed German qualities and the German mission of Austria and there he often played into the hands of the Nazis, who made full use of this point of view."

Dangerous as Schuschnigg's pro-Germanism was and much as it may have contributed to Nazi infiltration, he did not betray Austria into Hitler's hands. This was accomplished behind his back by three of his fellow Catholics. Foremost of these was the German Franz von Papen, Papal Chamberlain and arch-intriguer of Hitler, who had signed the Vatican-Hitler Concordat and was then Nazi ambassador to Austria. Another was Arthur Seyss-Inquart, one of Schuschnigg's cabinet members. Gedye (p. 222) mentions that Seyss-Inquart was "a devout Catholic . . . not only a member but a public speaker for the powerful *Catholic Action*." The third was Guido Schmidt, also a prominent Catholic layman, Schuschnigg's foreign secretary.

When Hitler took over Austria, Seyss-Inquart became Chancellor and President of Austria. Catholic Joseph Bürckel was made Gauleiter of Austria.

In honor of Adolf Hitler's triumphant entry into Austria on March 12, 1938, Cardinal Innitzer of Austria ordered the pealing of church bells. A few days later a Catholic proclamation on display throughout Austria informed the people that they must support Greater Germany and its *Fuehrer* "whose struggle against Communism and for the power, honor and unity of Germany corresponds to the voice of Divine Providence." This official church document was signed by all the arch-

bishops and bishops of Austria, headed by Cardinal Innitzer. Later copies of it were sent by the Cardinal to all the priests of Austria so that they might also put their names on record in endorsement of it. Gedye (pp. 243, 348) says of the Cardinal:

"Cardinal Innitzer and many of his Austrian bishops cruelly stabbed their German co-religionists in the back at the height of the struggle . . . In Austria 'the spittle-lickers to the Nazis' was for a time the mildest epithet used by Catholics about their own leaders."

"The higher Catholic clergy have in the main escaped the persecution . . . making, to their eternal shame, common cause with the invader. Over the Cathedral of St. Stephan floats for all to see the flag of surrender and the badge of their own contumely."

CONCLUSION

Catholic Justice Herbert O'Brien of New York City in the March 29, 1938, issue of the New York *Herald Tribune* spoke the mind of Political Catholicism when he rejoiced at Hitler's conquest of Austria and Czechoslovakia. He spoke of the Central European states which "had enjoyed under the benevolent sway of the Hapsburgs, commercial prosperity, independence and peace . . . What America is witnessing is the normal reunion of these several parts into the original, living structure."

The Roman Catholic church is one centralized organization and has the same political ideals and policy whether in Austria or America. The destruction of democracy which it boldly championed in Italy, Austria, Spain, Portugal, Argentina and elsewhere is equally close to its heart in America—only here it is still obliged to work behind the democratic slogans of a 'false front,' as Seipel did in Austria in the early 1920's.

THE TRUE PRIESTHOOD OF CHRIST

THE UNSCRIPTURAL teaching about priests in the Roman Catholic church is boldly proclaimed on every possible occasion. A typical example of this was had at the funeral services for Msgr. William T. Conklin at St. Saviour's Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., last November 3. As reported in the Brooklyn *Tablet* of November 6, the preacher, Msgr. H. Casey, declared:

"A priest is called by God and rightly so to act as a mediator between God and man, and to offer up a sacrifice of propitiation for the sins of men."

Here we have clear proof how Roman Catholic teaching has "turned the truth of God into a lie." (*Rom.* 1:25). Yet, among the hundreds of bishops, monsignors, priests and nuns present, no voice was raised in protest against this flagrant contradiction of true Christian teaching about salvation. No interpreter or 'infallible' pope is needed to expound the Scriptural teaching on this point and to show how pagan and un-Christian is the claim of the Roman church that a mere man is the "mediator between God and man and can offer up a sacrifice of propitiation for the sins of men." In his Epistle to the *Hebrews* (10:14) St. Paul makes it crystal clear that:

"By one offering He hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified."

Again he assures us (*Heb.* 10:12):

"But this man [Christ] after he had offered one sacrifice for sins for ever, sat down on the right hand of God."

And again (v. 10):

"By the which we are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all."

Christianity would be nothing new if mere men were still required to offer sacrifices and act as mediators between the sinner and God. Jesus Christ is the one and only mediator, and his sacrifice makes all other sacrifices unnecessary forever more. St. Paul goes so far as to assure us that Christ's sacrifice, once offered, takes away even the *remembrance of sin*, in contrast to the sacrifices of human priests where "there is a remembrance again made of sins." In other words, the sacrifices offered by human priests, before the coming of Christ, were purposely intended to remind men of sins; whereas the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, the one and only true high priest, actually took away sins and all remembrance of them forever in the sight of God.

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